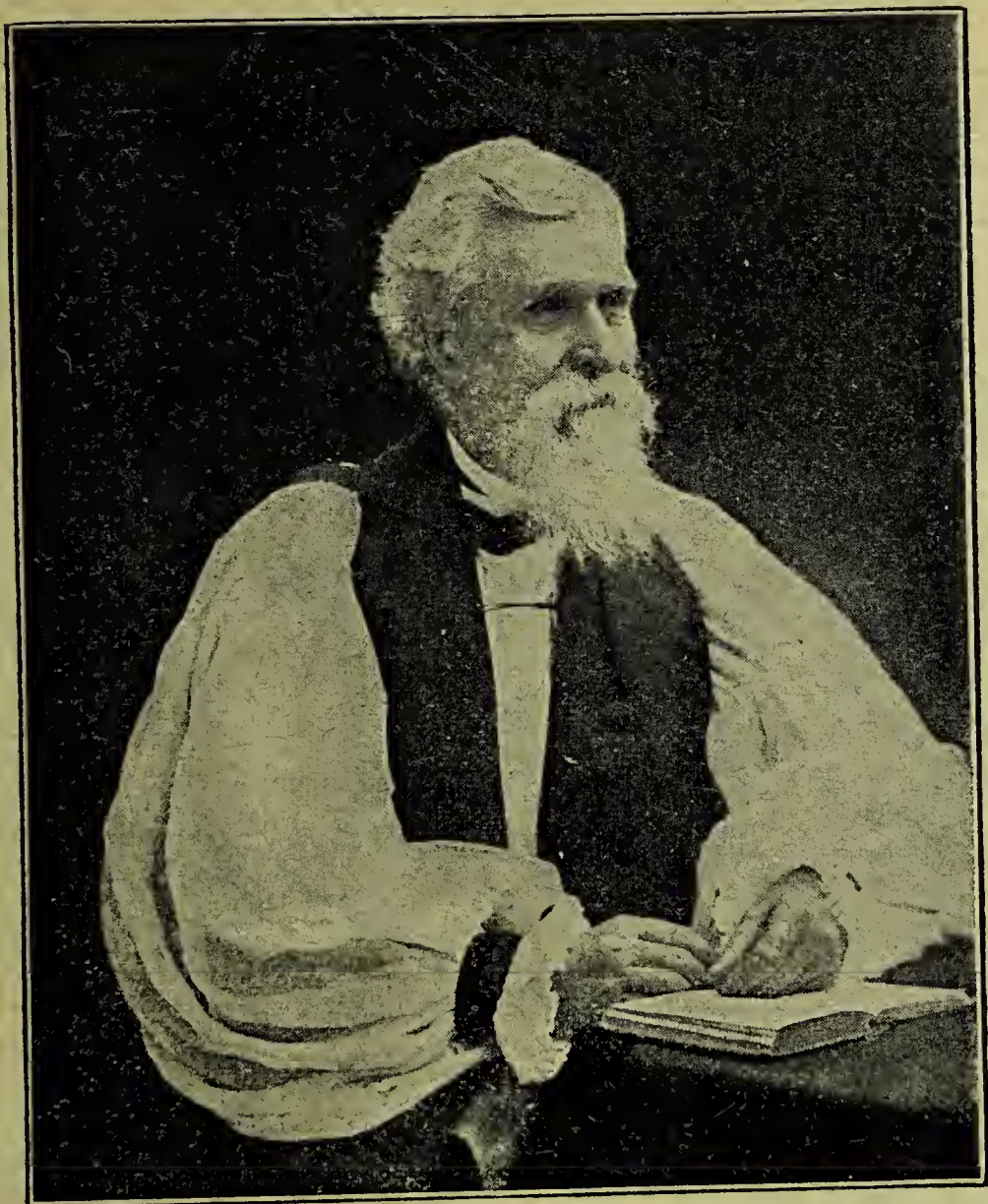


Pam Caldwell
Biog
MISSION HEROES.

Bishop Caldwell



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MISSION HEROES

BISHOP CALDWELL,
OF TINNEVELLY.*

BY THE
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IN one of Archdeacon Manning's sermons there is a passage of great beauty and power, in which he reminds his hearers that the self-denial in which Christian heroism consists may either culminate in one or two acts of conspicuous self-sacrifice, of which the whole after-life will bear the impress, or "may be spread over a wider surface, and along a more protracted time." Among the heroes of the mission-field the two types of the heroic life may be found. There are those whose lives have been spent in the constant presence of danger, whose claim to the title of mission-hero rests principally on the

* *Sources*: "Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell," edited by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt (Madras: Addison and Co.); Reports of the S.P.G.

courage and readiness with which they took their lives in their hands, or met death, in the cause of Christ's gospel. And there are others, no less heroic, whose lives exhibit the heroism of endurance ; in whose missionary labours there may have been no crisis of danger demanding acts of supreme self-denial, but whose lives have been heroic in their prolonged and patient continuance in arduous work.

And among those who by lifelong endurance in mission-work have manifested the heroic temper, the name of Bishop Caldwell, of Tinnevelly, will always stand high. The late Assistant-Bishop of Madras, whose name has for more than half a century been associated with the history of the Church in Tinnevelly, is an example of a very high type of heroism. It is a great thing if a man respond to the sudden demand made upon him to face danger or death in one supreme act of self-denial ; it is a great thing also if a man brace his will to the work of a long lifetime in the self-sacrifice, renewed daily, of arduous work in the mission-field.

Robert Caldwell was born near Antrim on May 7, 1814. Although of Irish birth he was of Scotch parentage on both sides, and when the future bishop was ten years old the family removed to Glasgow and settled there. The Caldwells were members of the Scotch Presbyterian body, and their son was brought up in the tenets of the kirk, learning in due course the "Shorter Catechism," and imbibing such theology as he could from the long sermons of the parish minister. The boy was by nature "bookish," and he availed himself to the full, as he tells us in his autobiography, of all the facilities for

obtaining books in which Glasgow abounded. His reading was naturally desultory, but it lay wholly among the best literature, and he had no cause in after life to regret its wide range. In his sixteenth year he returned to Ireland, and remained in Dublin for some years studying art, with a view of making it his profession. There were no facilities in Dublin for pursuing the course of general reading which he had begun at Glasgow, and he was compelled to narrow the range of his studies. Books of science were almost the only ones to which he had ready access, and the study of physical science developing for him a special attraction, he pursued it.

The influences by which he found himself surrounded in Dublin were more definitely religious than those of Glasgow, and to the period of his residence in that city he tells us that his conversion may be referred. He had come into contact with several devout members of the Church of Ireland, but had himself attended the sermons at an Independent chapel. On his return to Glasgow in 1833 he attached himself to the Congregationalists there, and undertook a good deal of practical work in connection with them. Among the adherents of the chapel which he attended there was much enthusiasm for missionary work, and his own undoubted missionary vocation was so fostered by the zeal of those with whom he associated that, in the following year, he made a definite offer of his services to the London Missionary Society. The Society accepted his offer of himself, and sent him to pursue his studies at the University of Glasgow.

His previous reading had not been the best of preparations for the university course. Even

the rudiments of Latin and Greek were wholly unknown to him a year before he matriculated at Glasgow, and he had to work with extraordinary diligence to supply the defects of his early education. His natural ability and his diligence are attested by the high place which he attained in the examinations of his first year. The work was pleasant to him, although it was so exacting ; it was indeed, so far as the classics were concerned, the revelation of a new world of thought, since he had approached the study of them when his mind was already trained to some degree of critical judgment. For the philosophical part of the University course he was better prepared by his previous reading, which had included the works of the chief English and Scotch metaphysicians, and when he went up for his degree he was bracketed first in mental and moral science. He had acquired also a great interest in the study of comparative philology, a science then little studied outside Germany, and he had already resolved to attempt some contribution to the science if his work in the mission field ever afforded him an opportunity. That resolve bore fruit, as we shall see, in his great work on the Dravidian languages. Fully occupied as his days were with the secular subjects of the university course, he yet found time to attend lectures on theology by professors of the Independent denomination, and he supplemented their instruction by the study of the great Puritan divines, and some of the English theologians, among whom Hooker and Waterland especially influenced and attracted him. It was at this time that his thoughts began to turn towards the English Church, which he was not

to join until five or six years later. He was not as yet fully convinced of the necessity of the episcopate in the Church ; and he was afraid of taking, on grounds of mere preference, a step which then appeared to him to resemble an act of schism. He seems at that time to have regarded religion almost entirely from a subjective point of view ; and to have conceived of different religious denominations as developing different phases of character, through which degrees of spirituality were manifested which did not greatly vary in the different denominations.

After taking his degree at Glasgow, he was appointed by the London Missionary Society to their mission in Madras, and he sailed for his destination in the following autumn. The voyage of a sailing vessel round the Cape to India would be thought by the modern traveller almost intolerably long and monotonous ; but Caldwell, with his habits of industry and application, welcomed it as offering an opportunity of increasing his stores of knowledge. Among his fellow-passengers was an Indian civilian—Mr. C. P. Brown, of the Madras Civil Service, a man of keen intellect and wide reading, and of great linguistic ability. With him Caldwell entered on the study of Sanskrit, laying the foundation of subsequent study in the languages of India, and, incidentally, getting over the first difficulties of the pronunciation of Tamil, and thus rendering its acquirement more easy. The journal which he kept during the voyage reveals the habits of intense diligence and application which he had formed, and his utilization of every spare minute in the acquisition of knowledge.

Madras was reached in January, 1838, and

Caldwell stayed there for some time with his fellow-missionaries of the London Missionary Society, learning the Tamil language. John Tucker, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, exercised at that time a deep and wide influence upon the religious life of Madras, and Caldwell came to some extent within its range. All things at that time seemed to be drawing him towards the Church. His practical work among the heathen tended to shake his faith in the Independent system, and a course of theological reading, including the anti-Nicene Fathers, led him to the conclusion that "the Church of England, with all its apparent defects, was the best home the searcher after truth could expect to find in this world ; that it was the best representative of the catholicity and the freedom of thought of the earliest ages ; and that [he] could not do better than cast in [his] lot with a Church which, then supposed by many to be dying or dead, seemed to [him] to have inherited from the Apostolic times, with the sacred deposit of the faith and the threefold ministry, a capacity for an unlimited succession of revivals and reforms." He accordingly determined to be received into the Church of England, and to work as a missionary in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In his "Reminiscences" the bishop says that there were then few signs of life remaining in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but that he was persuaded that times of revival were in store for it, as certainly as he believed that times of revival were in store for the Church of England itself. In neither hope was he disappointed. He saw the revival of life and energy

in the Church ; he witnessed and aided in the revival of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which is peculiarly representative of the Church in her missionary aspect, and which might therefore be naturally expected to share in her recovery, as before it had shared in her depression.

Mr. Caldwell at first intended, on leaving the London Missionary Society, to work for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel without committing himself very definitely to the Church. But on leaving Madras he spent two months in the Neilgherry Hills with the Bishop of Madras, and during that visit his views underwent a considerable modification. He had had no thought of seeking ordination when he visited the bishop, but he had been led to offer himself as a candidate, and the bishop ordained Mr. Caldwell before he left. His journey from Madras to the hills is an instance of his true missionary spirit. To travel by palanquin or cart would, he considered, be to shut himself off from many opportunities of making himself more thoroughly acquainted with the country, and with the speech and ideas of the natives. He resolved, therefore, to make the journey on foot, and he walked as far as Pondicherry, accompanied only by a native servant, and one or two coolies, putting up at night in the native rest-houses, and travelling in the cool of the morning and evening.

After ordination he set out for Tinnevely, where he had long ago formed the resolution of working. He began the journey on horseback, but soon reverted to his old plan of travelling on foot. The route was long and difficult, part of it lying through the cotton district, where he had

to walk barefoot through the black mud. The natives whom he encountered sometimes wondered how a European could have fallen into such a state of poverty as to be obliged to walk ; and on one occasion he was refused admission to a dâk-bungalow,* on the supposition that he had no right to admission to a bungalow reserved for gentlemen, a refusal which was withdrawn on the appearance of the coolies and the baggage. He reached Tinnevely in good health, and took up his abode in the village of Edeyengoody, a place destined to be the scene of his best work in life, and to afford him a resting-place in death.

Edeyengoody, "the shepherd's abode," was a name of good omen to Mr. Caldwell. "I came amongst the people," he says, in his "Reminiscences," "as a shepherd, desiring to gather into Christ's fold all His sheep who were still wandering in the wilderness." He hoped to make the village a model Christian village, complete in everything that might serve as an example of Christian civilization. It was to be the centre of a district which had been formed and assigned to him on his arrival, and from it Mr. Caldwell hoped that the work would expand. But in its beginnings the work was not very promising. The village was a large one, accustomed to self-government, and the people had the reputation of being headstrong and difficult to manage. Moreover, there were special circumstances of difficulty. There was in the village, although the majority of the inhabitants were Christian, a strong heathen minority, which included several of a higher caste than their neighbours. These had lapsed from Christianity some time before.

* Travellers' rest-house.

and were opposed, with all the proverbial hate of renegades, to the settlement among them of a teacher of the religion which they had renounced. For a time they rendered mission work very difficult, but they themselves eventually removed the difficulty by leaving the village, and Mr. Caldwell was then able to carry into effect his plans for the social and spiritual elevation of the people who remained.

Tinnevelly was then, as now, the garden of Indian missions. But the rapid spread of the Gospel was itself a cause of disturbance in the district, for the heathen were stirred up to a fiercer opposition. Bands of heathen went through the country, plundering the houses of the newly-made converts, and putting even the missionaries themselves in fear. The magistrates were "neutral," and their policy of inaction encouraged, or at least failed to impress, the leaders of the persecution. Patient forbearance, however, conquered opposition, and the epidemic of revolt speedily ran its course and died away.

The Tinnevelly Christians of that period were not well instructed in the faith, though they were obedient, temperate, moral, and willing, though not quick, to profit by instruction. Their public worship, in which the women took no audible part, was somewhat lifeless, and bore perhaps the same relation to the reverent and spontaneous worship which is offered in the churches of Tinnevelly to-day as did the parson-and-clerk duet of our forefathers to the present-day worship of English Churchmen. There was little or no preaching on the part of the native catechists, and the people had very little idea of the scheme of redemption, or of the doctrines

in which they professed their belief. Mr. Caldwell saw that their great need was education, that they needed to be built up in Christian faith, in Church order, in spiritual and intellectual life, and to that great task he determined that his life should be devoted.

The first step upward was the establishment of really adequate schools in the place of those which had previously existed. Mr. Caldwell's marriage in 1844 made possible the establishment of a boarding school for girls, which rapidly grew and prospered. Mr. Caldwell founded a similar institution for boys, which not only answered the first purpose for which it was started, but also supplied him with fresh catechists, which was a great need of the mission. The catechists whom he had found at work were men of excellent character and devout life, but with very little knowledge of religion in its theological aspects, and wholly unequal to the task of preaching to the heathen. Mr. Caldwell saw that if any progress was to be made the catechists must be replaced, or, at any rate, that their ranks must be recruited by younger and better educated men. His school soon began to provide him with a supply. He had found by experience that it was absolutely necessary to have the training of the boys from their earliest years. Several of the young men whom he had at first chosen to take the place of the older catechists, had nearly lost the power of learning when he took them in hand, and were therefore unfitted for the work. But the boys of the boarding school were perfectly teachable, and the founding of the school was fraught with most excellent results.

From the first, amid various difficulties, Mr. Caldwell had attempted to ameliorate the social condition of the people. The inherent conservatism of the Indian mind, and the intricate and involved nature of the land tenure in the district, to say nothing of the opposition of the heathen, were obstacles which had to be overcome before he was able to carry out his chief scheme. This was nothing less than the purchase of the freehold of the entire village, and of some of the land adjacent to it. It was at last acquired—after buying out the rights of all concerned, at his own expense—and Mr. Caldwell then began to lay out and rebuild the village afresh after a new plan. He had found Edeyengoody “a confused collection of mean houses, without anything that could be called a street, and only a few tortuous lanes leading hither and thither. Many of the houses were mere huts, built of palmyra leaves, and not one had a *pial*, or small verandah, such as the poorest houses have now.” He laid out the village in regular streets, and built a few houses which he intended to be taken as models, and which the natives in time copied, when they had been educated up to the point of desiring better dwellings. Roads were opened out, the streets were planted with trees, wells were dug, and the entire aspect of the place was altered for the better. Not, indeed, that the natives appreciated the change at once. It took some years to accustom their conservative minds to the new order of things, and to convince them that the changes were really improvements; but, once convinced, they became really proud of their village. Mr. Caldwell was a pioneer of industrial missions, which were then in their

infancy. He saw that in the bettering of their surroundings, even in the improvement of their native industries, the Church would establish a hold and claim on the natives which would render the reception of her spiritual message all the more easy. He realized that social progress must go hand in hand with spiritual advance, since the Church, like her Divine Founder, has a mission as well to the bodies as to the souls of men.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Caldwell's work was carried on under easy conditions of climate and the like. The climate of southern India is very exacting in its demands upon European constitutions. The country is indeed full of outward beauty, and we may here quote the description of a recent traveller through the district, which may give some idea of its external features. "Beside the road grow silver-green aloes, with here and there a great candelabra-like flower, towering high into the air; and beyond these stretches forth a boundless plain of soft green, wide stretches of *padi** alternating with strange trees, palmyra palms, and feathery umbrella trees, and many more of unfamiliar names. In the red soil grow great banyan trees, each one in itself a little forest, with tasselled roots dangling in mid-air, or just reaching the ground, or deeply planted therein, and supporting a straight smooth pillar-like stem whereon rests the parent branch. Hither and thither over the mighty trunks dart numberless palm-squirrels, with light-brown fur, striped with bands of black, while in and out of the dark foliage above flutter the bright emerald green parrots, filling the air with cries which here in the open air are neither

* Rice-fields,

harsh nor piercing. Beyond, again, are broad expanses of *padi*, and streams, and great reservoirs of shallow water, and banana plantations, and palmyra palms innumerable, quite unlike the date-palms, for they have fan-shaped leaves and tapering stems which widen so suddenly at the base that they seem to be balanced thereon.” * But for all its outward beauty the country is a trying one for the Englishman. The district is one of the hottest in India, and Mr. Caldwell himself described it as having no cold weather, but only three months of hot weather, and nine of hotter; and it is some indication of the strength of will amounting indeed to heroism, which he manifested, to learn that he stayed at his post for periods of seventeen, fifteen, and eight years at a time, although, as he himself confesses, he “scarcely ever enjoyed perfect health for a day.” His health was so shattered by his first residence in India that he was obliged to stay for four years in England to recover his strength.

During the first part of his residence in Tinnevely, Mr. Caldwell held the post of missionary chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, and was the companion of the bishop on his missionary journeys. But the Bishop of Madras had to leave India in a few years on account of ill health, and the appointment was not renewed by his successor. It had enabled Mr. Caldwell to see the work of other missions than his own, and thus to widen his experience, and to take a more extended view of missionary methods.

* The bishop lived in a less inviting part of the district—a vast sandy tract, covered with palmyra trees, except in hollows where gardens of plantains and cereals are cultivated.

Mr. Caldwell's linguistic ability was not allowed to grow rusty for want of use. Besides his daily intercourse with the natives, he found other uses for his knowledge of Tamil. The year after his arrival in Tinnevely he was asked to join a committee for the revision of the Tamil prayer-book, and a few years afterwards he took part in the revision of the Tamil Bible—a task which occupied, from first to last, a period of eleven years, which he accounted the happiest of his life. In those early years at Tinnevely he had applied himself with great diligence to the study of Indian philology, ethnology, and history. It speaks volumes for his indomitable energy that, finding that many volumes bearing on the line of study which he had taken up were the work of German authors, he determined to learn German, in addition to all his other labours. Fifteen years after his arrival in Tinnevely he produced his first and largest work, "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian, or South Indian Family of Languages," a work which was one of the firstfruits of work in the new science of comparative philology. It earned for him the approbation of all experts in the science, and Sir W. W. Hunter has spoken of it as "a revelation to western philologists, which remains the standard work on the subject, without a rival or successor . . . one which will ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age." The University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of LL.D. on the publication of this work; and in 1873 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by the University of Durham.

In all his philological labours Dr. Caldwell

had but one aim and end. They were not the hobby to which he devoted his few hours of leisure, or the relaxation of a busy life. He thought of them rather as of a contribution to missionary work, a part of his missionary labour. They may not have had the immediate usefulness of less important work, or have borne such immediate fruit as did the linguistic labours of Bishop Steere in Central Africa. But they lightened the labours of his fellow-workers, and of those who came after him; and they were a scholarly addition to England's knowledge of India and things Indian.

One cannot but wonder how in those earlier years he could possibly have found time or inclination for serious study in the midst of his active work. His mission district contained no fewer than twenty villages, and he spent the greater part of his time in travelling from one to the other; so that he had little time to spend at Edeyengoody, in "the place which he called home by way of distinction," and where he kept his books. It was nothing more than a one-roomed bungalow, seventeen feet by eleven, made of sunburned bricks, and roofed with palmyra leaves. In the week he divided his time between the outlying villages, generally sleeping in the open air. In these villages there were small schools, chapels, or oratories, and in some of them native catechists were stationed. The people of the district were wild and untaught, some of them making a living by blackmailing their neighbours in more peaceable villages. But in a very short time Dr. Caldwell was able to see some fruit of his labours. Two years after he began his work in the district he wrote home

that he could see almost every month signs of ascent and progress. "Hundreds of persons who were a few years ago open worshippers of the devil are now under a regular course of Christian instruction and discipline, and are able to give to all an answer of the reason of the hope that is in them. In the village in which I am writing this letter, in which there are upwards of seven hundred souls under instruction, I have spent a week in examining the candidates for baptism to the number of forty, that had proposed themselves some time before. At the close of the examination I baptized twenty-one persons with their children, and was on the whole exceedingly well satisfied with the knowledge of the plan of salvation and the earnestness of mind which were then exhibited. Everywhere in my district the number of candidates is considerable, and the careful instruction of them with a view to their baptism will be my principal work for some months to come." Elsewhere in the district of Tinnevelly the cause of Christianity was advancing in at least an equal ratio. Yet there were, from time to time, outbreaks of petty persecution on the part of the heathen, which, though they made the work more difficult for the moment, failed to make any lasting impression upon the catechumens, and were, in fact, accepted by Dr. Caldwell as an evidence that the work was being blessed of God. Things gradually settled down, and Dr. Caldwell was able to carry out his plans to a successful issue. One of his first cares had been to make Edeyengoody a strong centre of work. New mission buildings, necessitated by the growth of the work, and of the schools which he and Mrs. Caldwell had founded, were erected,

and in 1848 he was able to lay the foundation of a permanent church, which was not destined to be finished for many years.

The success of the late Bishop Caldwell's work makes it of the more importance that he has left on record some account of his missionary methods, which may serve to encourage and to guide others in the mission-field. His first principle, he says, upon which all his mission work was founded, was that the congregation, the local church, should be the centre of all effort, and that each convert should be made a missionary to his friends. Upon this principle he always acted in Tinnevelly. He grasped from the first the great truth that Christianity is a social and not an individualistic religion—a truth which the majority of Christians are even now but slowly learning. He taught that each baptized person should himself be a missionary by reason of his Christianity, and in obedience to its obligations. One great advantage he had in Tinnevelly. He found most of the natives willing to listen, if not to learn, especially willing to come to him upon invitation, and to give him a patient hearing. The door was open everywhere for Christian teaching, and the exercise of Christian influences.

Dr. Caldwell seldom employed the method of preaching to the heathen in the streets and open places of the villages. He felt that the preacher was too liable to interruption, and he therefore endeavoured to build schools in every village of the district, not only that he might be able to instruct the children, but also that he might have a place to call his own, where he might assemble for instruction those who were willing to hear

him. When a Christian community was formed in any village, and had built a church for its worship, he used to preach to the heathen outside it ; but always with a view of persuading them to become catechumens, and to receive instruction within its walls. He worked always with the aim of making every convert a fresh missionary, and to that end he not only employed all the native catechists in evangelistic work among the heathen, but he directed them to invite other of the native Christians in their congregations to accompany them in their preaching tours. A few years after his arrival he was able to form an evangelistic association on these lines, but having wider aims, and a more complete organization, which should aim at the conversion of the western portion of the district, where Christianity had not made much progress. The organization was largely supported and worked by the natives themselves, and Dr. Caldwell always regarded these native home missions as a very necessary agency in the building up of the native Church.

In 1876 he began a mission to natives of the higher castes, who had not hitherto been attracted to the faith by the agencies already at work. He endeavoured at first to make preaching the chief influence ; but he soon found that the natives of the higher castes could best be reached through mission schools, and experience showed him that no other method of work was equally successful in making converts from these castes.

The famine of 1877-78 brought a large accession of converts to the Tinnevelly missions. It is usual to hear them stigmatized as "rice Christians," and it is of course true that many joined

the mission through mixed motives. But those who professed themselves anxious to become Christian were at once put under careful instruction, and it was found that the great majority remained ever after steadfast in their profession. And it was of immense importance that their children were brought at once under the influence of the mission, and were educated in its schools, without having any real knowledge of heathenism. Many, left to die by their Brahman teachers and priests, must have been powerfully impressed by the love and practical charity of Christians, who relieved them in their extremity.

In every village and group of villages a catechist was placed, who had the care of the congregation. He held a short service every day, and was responsible for the service on Sunday when the priest of the mission was absent. The constant supervision of these catechists, and their higher education, was a most important part of Dr. Caldwell's work, and one in which he spared himself no pains. With the growth of the mission other clergy became available, both native and European, and it was possible to supplant the catechists by clergy in many of the more important stations.

With the rapid growth and continual extension of the Tinnevelly missions it became increasingly clear that the native Christians needed more episcopal supervision than the Bishop of Madras was able to afford. Legal difficulties, not easily to be removed, prevented the formation of a new diocese ; and it was also thought expedient that there should be two bishops in the Tinnevelly district, one to have the oversight of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missions, and

one for the Church Missionary Society. It was therefore arranged that two bishops, assistant to the Bishop of Madras, should be consecrated, without jurisdiction of any kind, and having only such authority as the Bishop of Madras thought well to give them. The arrangement was not an ideal one, but it was the best, if not the only one possible, and the Bishop of Madras gave such freedom of action to his coadjutors as made their co-operation not only easy but pleasant. Dr. Caldwell was consecrated to the episcopate in Calcutta Cathedral on March 11, 1877, by the bishops of the Indian dioceses and Ceylon, and with him was consecrated the Rev. E. Sargent, who had worked in the district for the Church Missionary Society almost as long as Dr. Caldwell, and who had been his near neighbour and close friend.

“His elevation to the episcopate,” says Sir W. W. Hunter, “brought but little change into his life. He continued as he had been for forty years, the priest and leader and teacher of the numerous Christian communities under his care, and a most wise and gentle father and counsellor to the clergy, Indian and European, whose efforts he had long directed, and most of whom had grown up under his eye. He had so identified himself with the population around him that India had long ceased to be to him a place of exile, for he dwelt among his own people.”

One of the joys of the bishop's declining years was the consecration of the Church at Edeyen-goody, now finally complete, of which he had laid the foundation so many years before. In the completion of the work he had taken a great interest, modelling in clay with his own hands

the tracery of the windows, and the mouldings of the roof, that the native masons and carpenters might work from his full-size models. At the consecration of the church there were present, besides Bishop Sargent, no fewer than thirty-five native clergy, a striking testimony to the progress of the Church in the district, and to the permanent character of the spiritual building of which the bishop had been a master builder. In that year the centenary of the Tinnevely mission was kept, and the bishop read a very interesting paper, in which he detailed its history. For many years before 1840 the work of the mission had been stationary, or receding. When Bishop Caldwell began his life-work in the district there were in all about four thousand five hundred native Christians; the work of Schwartz and the earlier missionaries had so far failed of permanency that in six villages which had then embraced the gospel Bishop Caldwell found only one villager who had remained steadfast. When he came a new departure had been made, and at the jubilee of the mission there were sixty thousand native Christians. It can never be known how much of this progress is due to the unremitting toil of Bishop Caldwell, and to his wise direction of the mission in his later years.

In 1888 the bishop kept the jubilee of his landing in India. His speech on that occasion is a summary of his life's work, and in the sadness of its closing words there might be traced some indication of his conviction that his life-work was done.

For the long life of unwearying labour in the cause of the mission was indeed drawing to a close. Advancing age and increasing infirmity

led him to resign the work of the episcopal office at the beginning of 1891, and he then retired to Kodaikanal to pass the remainder of his days. In the August of the same year he contracted a chill, and after a few days of weakness and fever he passed away.

There was no question of his burying-place. He himself had expressed a wish to be laid under the altar of the church at Edeyengoody, which he had built and consecrated, in the midst of the people in whose service he had ungrudgingly spent himself. There were difficulties in the way of the fulfilment of his wish, but none too great to be overcome. The long journey to Edeyengoody was lightened by the willing help of the native Christians, who expressed their gratitude at being allowed to bear the body of one whom they regarded as a saint. At Palamcottah the native clergy bore the coffin to the church, where the body rested for the night, and the first part of the burial office was said. In the morning the funeral train went forward to Edeyengoody. It was met near the village by a vast crowd of laity and native clergy from all parts of the district. The coffin, after resting a short time outside the church, in order that the people might give vent to the first expression of their grief, was placed before the altar, beneath which the grave was being prepared. The next day the remains of the bishop were committed to their last resting-place.

There remained to those whom he had left to carry on his work "an honoured memory to treasure, and a noble example to follow," to employ the felicitous phrase of the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

which he had served so loyally. The press of India and of England vied with each other in their tributes to his learning and devotion. His memory will live in Tinnevelly among those for whom he worked so unceasingly, and generations to come will thank God for the work which he was permitted to do. It was hoped that his name would be perpetuated and his work in part carried on, by the institution known as Caldwell College, which the bishop himself founded. But this college was reduced to a high school two years after his death, and a hostel was erected at Trichinopoly, and called after him "Caldwell Hostel," to accommodate young men from Tinnevelly who wished to avail themselves of the higher education which the college of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Trichinopoly offers.

With the death of Bishop Caldwell the whole question of the Tinnevelly bishopric was reopened. The ecclesiastical establishment in India is in some ways a great hindrance to Church extension, and though the Church in Tinnevelly is in sore need of effective episcopal supervision, the obstacles in the way of providing it are many and great.

It is no derogation from the splendid missionary achievements of Bishop Caldwell to admit that he did not find a complete solution for all the mission problems which he was called upon to face. That he should have been able to solve so many is as greatly to the credit of his wisdom as that he laboured for fifty years undiscouraged by difficulties is to the credit of his patience and self-abnegation. There are faults, doubtless, in the Tinnevelly Church, but one

can hardly read the accounts of visitors to Tinnevely* without an uncomfortable feeling that the Christians of Southern India might have much to teach the Christians of England.

In the life of Bishop Caldwell the one quality which is seen to denominate the character is that of patient perseverance. His life was given to the gospel and to India, and his resolve once taken there was no thought of looking back.

The self-oblation of a long life-time in arduous work is heroism indeed, unromantic possibly, but none the less real. It was once said that the colonial Churches need "more graves of bishops." The grave of Bishop Caldwell at Edeyengoody, "the shepherd's abode," will always remind the Christians of Tinnevely of one who gave not a part but the whole of his working life to them, and who found his last abode in the midst of the flock which he had tended.

* Cf. Bishop Barry, "England's Mission to India" (S.P.C.K.).

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